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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1995

\$1 beyond the greater New York metropolitan area.

60 CENTS

Welcoming the Pope

TODAY

3 P.M. Arrival at Newark International Airport at restricted terminal. Welcoming ceremony, address and meeting with President Clinton.



TODAY's Host Diocese
Archdiocese of Newark
Heart Cathedral, Newark. Afterward, the Pope spends the night at the residence of the Vatican's representative to the United Nations on East 72d Street in Manhattan.

TRAFFIC Interstate 280 and New Jersey Turnpike closed as Pope and President pass; traffic barred from area around Sacred Heart Cathedral for much of the day. East 72d Street between Fifth and Madison Avenues closed to vehicles and passing pedestrians.

VIEWING ABC, NBC, WWOR, New York 1, FOX and CNN will provide live coverage of the arrival.

TOMORROW

Addresses the United Nations and celebrates Mass and delivers homily at Giants Stadium.

FRIDAY Celebrates Mass and delivers homily at Aqueduct Racetrack in Queens. Leads evening prayer and delivers an address at St. Joseph's Seminary in Yonkers.

SATURDAY

Celebrates Mass and delivers homily in Central Park. Recites rosary and delivers a brief address at St. Patrick's Cathedral.

The Reidys, All 11, Reflect On a Faith Proudly Lived

By FELICIA R. LEE

To William J. Reidy, an Irish-Catholic father of nine, Pope John Paul II operates in the world in much the manner Mr. Reidy operates his large household in the affluent Riverdale section of the Bronx: offering guidelines and hoping his flock will believe.

"It's like a father," said Mr. Reidy, who was educated in Catholic schools from kindergarten through college and attends Mass every Sunday. "He talks first, makes a lot of noise, and you have guidelines." As a father, Mr. Reidy knows well that it's not at all certain how the message will be received.

"There is the presumption that the central voice is the universal voice," said the 54-year-old Mr. Reidy, adding, "but I am not sure what Catholic means."

Still, every last Reidy child — from Tim, 20, to Gavin, 3 — is a proud Catholic, and all are looking forward to the Pope's arrival today.

One Catholic Family Awaiting the Pope

question. It means to be a Christian. It means taking care of the children."

To 12-year-old Michael Reidy, an altar boy at St. Gabriel's in the Bronx, the Pope represents "the closest thing we have to God on earth." But already, his 14-year-old brother, Owen, also an altar boy, isn't so sure. "He's the Pope," he said. "I sort of find that just a name. How closer to God can he be than lay people? It's not like God is going to walk into his living room."

And then there is the Reidy's oldest, Tim. From the church, he learned that homosexual acts are sinful, but at Princeton, where he is a junior, he met openly gay people for the first time and has tried to fit them in with his idea of Catholicism.

Like so many area Catholics, the

Jury Clears Simpson in Double Murder; Spellbound Nation Divides on Verdict



Paula photo by Reuters

At the words "not guilty," a tense O. J. Simpson uncoiled and breathed a sigh of relief.

Deep Split in Reactions to the Verdict

By MARTIN GOTTLIEB

staff, including Debi Diaz, a counter-

Over the Internet, the comments

Today, cloudy, showers, more humid. High 75. Tonight, diminishing showers, patchy fog. Low 65. Tomorrow, showers. High 75. Yesterday, high 81. Low 60. Details are on page C10.

**Fast Conclusion
for a 9-Month
Legal Fight**

By DAVID MARGOLICK

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 3 — Orenthal James Simpson, a man who overcame the spindly legs left by a childhood case of rickets to run to fame and fortune, surmounted a very different sort of obstacle today, when a jury of 10 women and 2 men cleared him of charges that he murdered his former wife and one of her friends.

The verdict, coming 16 months after Nicole Brown Simpson and Ronald L. Goldman were slashed to death in the front yard of Mrs. Simpson's condominium and after 9 months of what often seemed like interminable testimony, sidebar and high-priced legal bickering, was reached in the end with breathtaking speed. When it was read, much of the nation, President Clinton included, stopped their work. And with the Simpson verdict, as with the Simpson case, the nation was once more divided — largely along racial lines.

In a scene that lent a certain symmetry to the entire Simpson saga, Mr. Simpson returned to the free-ways of Los Angeles in a white van, and as fans waved from the street he headed to his home at 360 North Rockingham. While a dozen helicopters flew overhead, and fans festooned the fence with roses and balloons, Mr. Simpson was met by A.C. Cowlings. It was Mr. Cowlings who was in the driver's seat of the white Ford Bronco on June 17, 1994, five days after the killings.

Mr. Simpson pursed his lips, gulped a few times and wore a forced, pained grin as Deirdre Robertson, the law clerk to Judge Lance A. Ito, read the verdict. Mrs. Robertson tripped over "Orenthal," but not over what came next: "not guilty." When she uttered those words, Mr.

Still, every last Reidy child — from Tim, 20, to Gavin, 3 — is a proud Catholic, and all are looking forward to the Pope's arrival today, each in his or her own way.

Ask Marcia Reidy, their mother, who spends much of her time taking care of her 10-year-old handicapped son, what Catholicism means to her, and she says: "It's an impossible

junior, he met openly gay people for the first time and has tried to fit them in with his idea of Catholicism.

Like so many area Catholics, the Reidys will be personally touched by the Pope's visit this week. Owen and his sisters Marcia, 16, and Anne, 17, will attend his Mass on the Great

Continued on Page B6, Column 1

A.M.A. Has Objection to Limits On Fees in G.O.P. Medicare Plan

By ROBERT PEAR

WASHINGTON, Oct. 3 — After months of public silence, the American Medical Association expressed deep concern today about Republican proposals to redesign Medicare, saying that new limits on payments would make the program unattractive to many doctors.

James H. Stacey, a spokesman for the medical association, said today that doctors in the standard Medicare program were facing not just a cut in the growth of Medicare payments, but an absolute reduction in payment for many services under the Republican plan.

"This causes real problems for the A.M.A.," Mr. Stacey said in response to a question. "It would be a major blow to the traditional fee-for-service Medicare program."

The doctors' concerns echo comments from the Clinton Administration and Democrats in Congress, who say the Republicans would cut payments to doctors so severely that many doctors would decide not to treat Medicare patients. As a result, they say, patients would be forced to obtain care through health maintenance organizations and other private health plans, even though the Republicans insist that beneficiaries will always be free to keep traditional Medicare coverage.

Until today, the American Medical Association had generally refrained from criticizing the Republican proposals on Medicare. Indeed, it has praised some of those proposals, including one that would relax anti-

trust laws for doctors and another that would limit payments to victims of medical malpractice.

By contrast, in the battle over President Clinton's health care plan in 1993 and 1994, the American Medical Association regularly made itself heard. It supported Mr. Clinton's goal of guaranteeing health insurance coverage for all Americans, and it initially supported his proposal that all employers be required to buy such insurance for their employees. But the association later urged Congress to consider alternatives to the "employer mandate," and many doctors said Mr. Clinton's health plan envisioned too big a role for Government.

The specific points raised today concerned the fee schedule Medicare has used since 1992 to pay doctors. Each physician service is assigned a numerical value, and this

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INSIDE

Giuliani's Plan for Schools

Mayor Giuliani outlined for the first time a specific proposal for City Hall to gain control over the New York City school system. Page B1.

Veto With a Message

President Clinton vetoed a bill to pay Congress's administrative expenses, scolding lawmakers for slow action on other spending bills. Page A22.

Satellite Link to the Internet

AT&T is planning a global satellite network that would let computer users connect to the Internet via small satellite dish antennas. Page D1.

Heat Deaths Scrutinized

For three months, Federal researchers have been trying to figure out why a summer heat wave was so deadly in Chicago. Page A9.

Islands Off China at Peace

The decades-long dispute between China and Taiwan over the islands of Kinmen and Matsu, once a major irritant, has subsided. Page A3.

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Deep Split in Reactions to the Verdict

By MARTIN GOTTLIEB

The seven workers at the Pasqua Coffee Bar in lower Manhattan like to joke around with one another, to trade stories about family and regular customers, and to help one another out in jams.

But until the astonishingly abrupt culmination of the O. J. Simpson murder trial yesterday, they never seemed to get around to discussing what, for much of America, has been a prickly and divisive topic.

Then, as the voice of the court clerk intoning "not guilty" came over the restaurant's radio, Charmon Savage, a kitchen worker who is black, jumped up, punched the air with both fists, and exclaimed, "Yes! Yes! Yes!"

Geraldine Foney, the restaurant manager, who is white, lowered her head with disgust in her eyes. "I thought he should have rotted in hell," she said.

And several other women on the

staff, including Debi Diaz, a counterwoman, grumbled in disbelief. "They have to retry him," she said. "It's ridiculous, you know."

The scene at the Pasqua Bar was repeated in thousands of different settings across the country yesterday, with reactions that seemed often to be shaped by race — especially by race — sometimes by the person's sex and frequently by a Jain belief that personal wealth can trump power just about anything.

At the Texas Bar-B-Q in downtown Dallas, a black-owned restaurant, a couple of black men greeted the verdict with eruptions of elation. Several white customers quietly left shortly afterward.

At Jocks n Jills Sports Bar at the CNN Center in Atlanta, the reaction was much the same as the verdict came over a bank of wall-to-wall television sets — black customers often embraced and cheered; whites sat in stony silence.

Over the Internet, the comments were often starkly racial and polarized.

Since it first began to transfix the country in June 1994, the Simpson murder case has been a combination soap opera, passion play and national Rorschach test laden with sex, celebrity, wealth, violence and, perhaps most sensitively, race.

The reactions to the verdict parallel the dramatic racial divide in every opinion poll taken since the trial began. Separated by a constant gap of about 40 percentage points, many whites seemed to hold fast to the belief that Mr. Simpson was guilty, while blacks believed as adamantly in his innocence. Several polls indicate that behind the response of many blacks is a deep suspicion of the police and the criminal justice system.

A poll taken by CBS News immedi-

Continued on Page A12, Column 1



Carrie Boren for The New York Times



Omar Muhammad/The New York Times

Passers-by watched the verdict with shock through the windows of the "Today" show studios at Rockefeller Center, left; at her restaurant in Harlem, Sylvia Woods cheered as she hugged her daughter and a waitress.

The Day (10 Minutes of It) the Nation Stood Still

By N. R. KLEINFIELD

The country stopped.

Between 1 and 1:10 P.M. yesterday, people didn't work. They didn't go to math class. They didn't make phone calls. They didn't use the bathroom. They didn't walk the dog.

They listened to the O. J. Simpson verdict.

Airplane flights had to wait. At Hartsfield International Airport in Atlanta, passengers and airport workers alike were so fixated watching the televisions at the departure gates that several Delta Air Lines flights due to leave between 1:24 and 1:32 boarded late. When a Delta agent with poor timing tried to start

her boarding instructions for a Louisville flight just as the verdicts were being read, a hundred passengers shouted her down.

Finance ceased. At the Barnett Bank branch on Biscayne Boulevard in Miami, tellers stopped counting bills and the lines of impatient customers evaporated as everyone turned tantalized to the television on the wall. Seeing the envelope containing the verdict, a sales manager implored: "Open it. Open it."

It was an eerie moment of national communion, in which the routines and rituals of the country were subsumed by an unquenchable curiosity. Millions of people in millions of places seemed to spend 10 spellbind-

ing minutes yesterday doing exactly the same thing.

The curiosity infected everyone, no matter what larger matters might be under consideration. President Clinton left the Oval Office at two minutes before 1 to catch the verdict in his secretary's office with several of his aides.

The Supreme Court was hearing arguments at the big moment. Immediately after the verdicts were announced, two messengers appeared. One went to the side, where Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg sat and the other to the side where Justice Stephen G. Breyer sat, and they

Continued on Page A12, Column 3

A. Ito, read the verdict. Mrs. Robertson tripped over "Oriental," but not over what came next: "not guilty." When she uttered those words, Mr. Simpson's body instantly uncorked. He then breathed a sigh of relief, and a faint and untroubled smile appeared.

As Mrs. Robertson's recitation continued — "... in violation of Penal Code Section 187a, a felony, upon Nicole Brown Simpson, a human being," Mr. Simpson waved at the panelists and mouthed the words "Thank you." The reading then unfolded again, with the name "Ronald L. Goldman" substituted for Mrs. Simpson. When that was through, Mr. Simpson embraced his chief lawyer, Johnnie L. Cochran Jr., and silently thanked and rethanked the jury again.

"Ladies and gentlemen of the jury, is this your verdict, so say you one, so say you all?" Mrs. Robertson then asked. "Yes," the panel members — nine black, two whites and a Hispanic man — replied matter-of-factly. Critics of the verdict maintained that the jurors were manipulated by a cynical defense team that talked more about the racism of the Los Angeles police than about guilt or innocence; Mr. Simpson's lawyers countered that prosecutors simply had not proven their case.

After they were individually polled, and the victims' families fled the premises, Judge Ito discharged his last duty in the case. "The defendant, having been acquitted of both charges, is ordered transported to an appropriate sheriff's

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MORE ON THE TRIAL

A Free Man

O. J. Simpson left court free of criminal charges but not of the side effects of the case, from possible television deals to huge legal bills. Page A10.

The Cryptic Jury

Jurors who made an art form out of being unreadable finally showed a few small signs of emotion, but only for a moment. Page A11.

The Los Angeles Factor

The trial was a national event, but the dynamics of Los Angeles, particularly the Police Department's images, were crucial. Page A13.

Opinions Everywhere

There was rejoicing at a black college in Atlanta, cynicism at a health club in Massachusetts, disbelief at a bar in Michigan. Page A13.

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News Summary

International

PEACE ON TAIWAN ISLANDS

Though tensions are rising between China and Taiwan on larger issue, the dispute over the islands of Kinmen and Matsu, once a major irritant, has subsided.

A3

ATTACK WOUNDS MACEDONIAN

The Macedonian President, Kiro Gligorov, a close ally of the United States, was gravely wounded in a car-bomb attack that killed his driver, officials said.

A3

BRITISH LABORITE ROUSES PARTY

At the annual conference of the British Labor Party, the party leader Tony Blair shifted his emphasis from remaking the party to remaking the country.

A4

ALGERIA PREPARES ELECTION

Although Islamic militants have threatened to kill voters, Algeria's Government announced nominees

A4

A nationwide cease-fire in Bosnia is said to be unlikely.

A8

A money shortage is impeding tribunals on war crimes.

A8

Calcutta Journal: A tradition faces end of the road.

A4

National

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CONCERN ABOUT MEDICARE PLAN

Breaking a long silence, the American Medical Association said it was concerned about Republican plans to overhaul Medicare.

A1

NOT GUILTY

O.J. Simpson was found not guilty of killing his former wife and a friend, ending one of the most widely watched trials in the nation's history.

A1

FREEZE FRAME

At the moment the verdict was read, the whole country, it seemed, stood still.

A1

OPINIONS EVERYWHERE

Whether it was cheering or disappointment, everyone had a reaction to the verdict.

A1

A SUSPECT NO MORE

O.J. Simpson left court free of criminal charges, but not of the side effects of the case.

A10

LAWYERS AFTER A MARATHON

In the aftermath, lawyers on both sides of the case were emotional, for different reasons.

A11

SIGNS FROM THE JURY

When the time came for the reading of the verdict, the jury in the Simpson case spoke loudly with small gestures.

A11

A TELEVISION DAY

As television recorded the surreal day, sometimes the most effective broadcasters were the ones who said nothing.

A12

DEAL-MAKERS' DELIGHT

With the end of the trial, book agents and others looking to turn the case into gold got to work.

A10

A low-fat diet could help fight prostate cancer, new findings by researchers suggest.

A14

Education

B9

In Michigan, a high school designed

"I can only hope that some day, despite every prejudicial thing that has been said about me publicly, both in and out of the courtroom, people will come to understand and believe that I would not, could not and did not kill anyone."

O.J. SIMPSON
[A10-11.]

pays for Congress's administrative expenses, saying he would not approve the lawmakers' budget while other spending measures were incomplete.

A22

DISSECTING A HEAT WAVE

Federal researchers have been trying to figure out why at least 500 people died during a heat wave in Chicago last summer.

A9

REPUBLICAN AND GAY

Some gay Republicans are finding that they are encountering the most hostility not from fellow party members, but from other homosexuals.

A9

RULING IN MAGAZINE CASE

A judge's ruling in a case involving an attempt to prevent Business Week from publishing an article has set the stage for an appeals court battle.

A9

PROSTATE CANCER FINDING

A low-fat diet could help fight prostate cancer, new findings by researchers suggest.

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broadcasters were the ones who said nothing.

A12

DEAL-MAKERS' DELIGHT

With the end of the trial, book agents and others looking to turn the case into gold got to work. A10

A PRESIDENTIAL VETO

President Clinton vetoed a bill to

Metro Digest B1

CONSIDERING QUESTIONS OF FAITH

Like many area Catholics, the Reidy family of the Bronx will be touched by the Pope's visit this week. It is a chance to think in a quiet, personal way about a religion that so permeates their lives that they rarely have the chance to step back and consider it. A1

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At the State University of New York, a plan for remedial education.

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The Simpson verdict. A Pope for modern times. Long night in Nigeria.

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Scott Turow: Simpson prosecutors pay for their blunders. Donald C. Alexander: Hired guns for the I.R.S.

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Corrections

An article on Saturday about American Jewish groups lobbying against the policies of the Israeli Government misspelled the surname of the executive vice president of the Israel Policy Forum. He is Jonathan D. Jacoby, not Jacob.

Because of an editing error, an article on Sunday about chemical weapons in Russia misstated the fears expressed by the author of a report on the subject. The scientist, Vil S. Mirzayanov, said the chemical stockpiles were vulnerable to transfer, sale or theft. He did not refer to the further production of such weapons. They are no longer produced in Russia.

Because of a production error, an article yesterday about the health of Pope John Paul II on the eve of his American visit appeared with 17 lines misplaced. The last line of column 2 and all of column 3 belonged near the bottom of column 4, after the phrase "As part of that care, John Paul II." Readers wishing corrected copies of the article may write to Production Quality Control, The New York Times, 229 West 43d Street, New York, N.Y. 10036, or telephone (212) 556-1992.

An obituary yesterday about Lita Annenberg Hazen, a leading philanthropist in medical research, misstated her age in some editions. She was 85, not 86.

Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

The French Ostrich

WASHINGTON

A few weeks ago I attended question hour at the Australian Parliament, a raucous weekly event when the opposition questions the Prime Minister, Paul Keating. Mr. Keating was asked about France's claims that it was entitled to test its nuclear weapons in Polynesia because these colonies were actually part of France. His voice dripping with contempt, Mr. Keating said: "Oh, yes. There are Polynesians all the way down from Aix-en-Provence. They pop out of the woodwork. They are doing Polynesian dances in the back end of the Loire Valley, in the walled city of Carcassonne, in the lovely humidity of Aix-en-Provence. There are Polynesians everywhere."

As Mr. Keating was doing this little hula, the Australian lawmakers were falling out of their seats with laughter. They were laughing at France — and with good reason. President Jacques Chirac's arrogant decision to defy the world and go ahead with two nuclear bomb tests in Polynesia deserves contempt. It is a sign of a country whose leadership is seriously out of touch with the main currents of the post-cold-war world. President Chirac is known as "Le Bulldozer" for the way he plows ahead, undeterred by critics. "L'ostrich" would be more appropriate.

It isn't just Greenpeace and a few environmental radicals eating seaweed and wearing sandals who are protesting France's explosions at the Mururoa and Fangataufa atolls. Japan and Sweden each sent ministers to Tahiti to express their opposition. Australia and New Zealand boycotted French products, while 9 out of the 12 members of the European Union spoke out against the tests. What Mr. Chirac has totally missed is that the anti-nuclear movement has gone Main Street. The nuclear debate is no longer between leaders who want to test and environmentalists who don't. Now the debate is between nations that are thinking environmentally and those, like France, that are not.

During the cold war the fear of being obliterated by the Soviet Union overrode the fear of testing nuclear weapons and damaging the environment. But now that the Soviet threat

By Scott Turow

The prosecution of O. J. Simpson was doomed from the start. Not in the sense that the state lacked proof — the case against Mr. Simpson remains compelling. But the prosecution was a low-road enterprise that began with the kinds of ugly tactics that have aroused suspicions about the criminal justice system among members of racial minorities in Los Angeles and elsewhere.

The problem was not only the way the police went about gathering evidence at Mr. Simpson's home the morning after the murders, but more important the way the Los Angeles District Attorney's office subsequently defended those arrogant blunders.

Scott Turow, a lawyer, is the author of "Presumed Innocent" and, most recently, "Pleading Guilty."

At the preliminary hearings, Detectives Philip Vannatter and Mark Fuhrman testified that they and two other detectives traveled to Mr. Simpson's home on Rockingham Avenue to inform him of the murder so he could make arrangements for his children.

The detectives testified that after getting no response to the buzzer at the gate, and following their discovery of a small spot of blood on Mr. Simpson's Bronco, which was on the street, they jumped the wall because they feared for Mr. Simpson's safety. It was after this adventure in low-rent rappelling — which was not only a violation of the Fourth Amendment but also criminal trespass — that Detective Fuhrman says he found the famous bloody glove.

The trouble with this testimony, in my view, is that the detectives' explanation as to why they were at the house is hard to believe. At the time of the preliminary hearing, before the DNA results had come in, the bloody glove, which matched one found at the crime scene, was the foremost evidence against Mr. Simpson. So the police were under tremendous pressure to explain their actions in a way that would legally

excuse them for violating Mr. Simpson's rights and allow the glove to be introduced as evidence.

Thus the dubious claim about fearing for Mr. Simpson's safety. Four police detectives were not needed to carry a message about Nicole Simpson's death. These officers undoubtedly knew what Justice Department statistics indicate: that half of the women murdered in the United States are killed by their husbands or boyfriends. Simple probabilities made Mr. Simpson a suspect.

Also, Mark Fuhrman had been called to the Simpson residence years earlier when Mr. Simpson was abusing his wife. Thus Mr. Simpson was more than the usual suspect husband; he had a known propensity to do violence to his wife. Of course, he is also one of the most exceptional physical talents of his generation, a member of the relatively small class of human beings capable of murdering two persons at once and of wielding a knife with sufficient power to virtually decapitate someone.

If veteran police detectives did not arrive at the gate of Mr. Simpson's home thinking he might have committed these murders, then they should have been fired.

The detectives went to Rockingham for one reason: they wanted to question Mr. Simpson before he had a chance to lawyer up. Perhaps he would explain himself, offer an alibi. But it's more likely they were hoping he would confess or tell one of the stupid little lies that so often become a defendant's undoing.

The detectives did not need a spot of blood on the Bronco to have powerful reasons to question Mr. Simpson. But assuming they did see the blood, why were they fly-specking the car if they had come only to deliver tragic news? The cops went over the wall to find Mr. Simpson, not to save him, and anyone who has spent time as a player in the criminal justice system had to recognize that.

The fact that the district attorney's office put these officers on the witness stand to tell this story and that the municipal judge at the pre-trial hearing, Kathleen Kennedy-Powell, accepted it is scandalous. It is also routine.

Everybody hates the Fourth Amendment, of course. What a lamentable concept: the constable

blundered so the evidence is lost. But the Fourth Amendment was not added to the Constitution to make most of us happy. It was intended to protect individuals from the state and to insure that political minorities would not be the object of random searches engineered by the political majority.

And when the Fourth Amendment and the other constitutional rules restricting police behavior are violated, it necessarily carries with it a strong message to our political minorities — including members of racial minorities, who are more likely to have contact with the police than are whites — that the legal system is a two-faced joker, one which says: We make the rules and we'll follow the ones we like.

I was an Assistant United States Attorney for eight years, and I never had a piece of evidence suppressed in a case I handled. This is not because I am such a great lawyer or mastered any special legal legerdemain. It was because the Federal agents I worked with understood the Fourth Amendment and didn't violate it.

They tolerated police arrogance and sloppiness.

Assistant United States Attorneys were available to answer Federal investigators' legal questions 24 hours a day. The agents were forbidden to make an arrest or enter a residence without our approval. They made it their business to follow the law, because they knew we would not put them on the witness stand to play make-believe. We couldn't even if we wanted to because the district court judges turned aside all such efforts with fury and scorn.

A legal system, like any moral system, is a complex and interdependent social arrangement. No one does good on its own. It requires the constant support, reinforcement and allegiance of all players for each to resist the ever-present temptations to let ends justify means. And that system appears to have broken down in Los Angeles.

To lambaste only Detectives Fuhrman and Vannatter misses the point.

It was the Los Angeles District Attorney's Office that put them on the stand. It was Judge Kennedy-Powell who took their testimony at face value rather than stir controversy by suppressing the most damning evidence in the case of the century. And it was Judge Lance Ito who refused to reverse her decision.

Because the prosecutors routinely accepted even the most unlikely stories from police officers, they were unable to recognize Mr. Fuhrman as a genuinely bad character. By the time news of Mr. Fuhrman's background began to emerge, prosecutors were hip-joined to him, their star witness — a foul-mouthed racist cop, the latest poster boy of the Los Angeles Police Department, his image hanging on the wall of the public mind next to those of the officers who beat Rodney King.

The jury made them pay. The jurors were impaneled knowing from the start that this was business as usual in Los Angeles. Nothing the prosecutors could do could convince them that this case was not corrupted by the police department's world-renowned racial hostility.

It is worth thinking about how this case would have developed had the authorities played it straight from the start. If Judge Kennedy-Powell had said: "I know these police officers want to believe what they've said, but that defies the realities of the work they do. This evidence is suppressed." If the District Attorney's office had conceded that the police had violated Mr. Simpson's rights, but tried to have the evidence admitted on the "inevitable discovery" theory, which allows evidence that would have surely been found if the police had gotten a search warrant.

Yes, suppressing the glove would have made headlines. It would have been another black eye for the police department. But it would have been a clarion announcement to the world — and to Los Angeles's black community — that the criminal justice system had mended its ways and was committed to treating all citizens fairly.

Paradoxically, it would also have given the district attorney's office its best chance to win this case. It would have relieved the jurors, all but two of whom were black or Hispanic, of the troubling choice they ultimately faced — between convicting Mr. Simpson or vindicating their own rights, which no one else in the legal system seemed to have bothered to protect.



being obliterated by the Soviet Union overrode the fear of testing nuclear weapons and damaging the environment. But now that the Soviet threat

Chirac's Gaullism blows up in his face.

is gone, the bigger threat is the bomb itself. The world isn't afraid of Chernomyrdin, the Russian Prime Minister, it's afraid of Chernobyl, the Russian meltdown. The bomb was designed to prevent another Pearl Harbor, but what people are really worried about is another Three Mile Island. As the French writer Dominique Moïse puts it: "Now that the threat against which we need nuclear weapons is no longer clear, all that is clear is the threat of the nuclear weapons themselves — to the environment and to the human race."

The reason Mr. Chirac doesn't understand this is because he is a Gaullist politician who, like any good Gaullist, has a vision that is dominated by the exalted role of France on the world stage. Pursuing the grandeur of France is his obsession — an obsession that is becoming increasingly unsustainable.

Consider the following: France has been a leader in the effort to form a united Europe with a single currency. A United Europe, led by France, appeals to Mr. Chirac because it would enhance France's global stature and help keep Germany under control. But to have a united Europe and a single European currency, France needs to get its budget deficit down from 6 percent of G.D.P. to 2.5 percent, where the Germans have it. The Germans said there can be no common currency without a common fiscal policy.

But when France's Finance Minister, Alain Madelin, tried to cut the budget, slim down France's bloated welfare state (the most bloated in Europe) and reform the Government to make France more competitive for the 21st century, the French public and labor unions howled — because it meant trimming benefits to workers, businessmen and civil servants. Mr. Madelin got fired. It was the French public saying that nuclear grandeur is fine as long as the Polynesians are the ones who pay, but an exalted role for France in Europe is not fine if we have to pay. (That's why there is never going to be any European monetary union. Forget it. Buy German marks. They're all you'll ever need.)

Mr. Chirac wants grandeur on the cheap, but there's no such thing. And that's why Gaullism is dead. The world won't sacrifice for Mr. Chirac's nuclear ambitions and his people won't sacrifice for his European ambitions. If Mr. Chirac doesn't grasp that soon they won't be laughing at him just in Australia. □



Journal

FRANK RICH

The L.A. Shock Treatment

As I stood in honest-to-God shock in my kitchen watching the reading of the Simpson verdict yesterday, my first feeling was rage. A few weeks earlier I had heard Vincent Bugliosi, the former Los Angeles Deputy District Attorney who successfully prosecuted the Charles Manson cult, convincingly argue that

there was more physical evidence tying O. J. Simpson to the murders of Nicole Brown and Ron Goldman than he had had in his own legal victory. I believed him then, and I still do. So to watch Mr. Simpson slip away from justice — my idea of justice, at any rate — as the murder victims' families sobbed all around him was an

infuriating sight.

I know I'm not alone, and so far neither the shock nor the anger has lessened. As I inevitably join the rest of the country in replaying all the case's chilling images — from the videos of the Simpsons' children in the parade of Johnnie Cochran's Nation of Islam bodyguards — I know

I'm going to get angrier still.

But even so the emotion does not quite overpower another image that washes up in my consciousness — that of where I was and what I was doing a month ago, when Mark Fuhrman's tapes were played in court.

At that moment I happened to be on vacation in California, reading the kind of book you want to read while on vacation in California — "The Big Nowhere," by James Ellroy. It's a sprawling, juicy crime novel about a series of heinous sex murders, told largely from the point of view of Los Angeles law-enforcement officials in 1950.

"The Big Nowhere" was actually written as a period piece in 1988, pre-Rodney King. But the juxtaposition of Mr. Ellroy's fictive, reconstructed L.A. police world and the L.A.P.D. pathology on view in Judge Lance Ito's courtroom made the novel seem more contemporary than not. In "The Big Nowhere," cops regard the ghetto of South Central as an enemy camp, crimes against minority victims as unworthy of investigation, and legal niceties as easily abridged inconveniences.

Mr. Ellroy is a hyperbolic writer, of course. His noir thriller doesn't purport to be journalism or history but is instead in the grand tradition of hard-boiled L.A. detective fiction from Raymond Chandler to "Chinatown," the movie made by Roman Polanski a few years after Mr. Manson's gang murdered his wife.

Yes, the I.R.S. has learned from the private sector. When I was commissioner, we saw that commercial collectors used the telephone effectively to collect debts, and we switched to phones, profitably.

The I.R.S. is improving. The collection of delinquent taxes is up this year by \$1.7 billion, largely because of earlier telephone contacts and effective use of formal agreements with taxpayers to pay in installments. For every \$1 spent in telephone collections, more than \$20 is brought in.

Farming out tax collections to private business would be like substituting the Pinkertons for the F.B.I. □

Hired Guns for the I.R.S.

By Donald C. Alexander

House Republicans want the Internal Revenue Service to try using debt collection agencies and law firms to collect Federal taxes. Such a pilot program would make hash of taxpayers' privacy and rights.

The proposal to budget \$13 million to test the idea should be rejected in the Senate-House conference committee, where it forms part of the I.R.S. appropriations bill.

Who would want confidential records to be an open drawer for private collectors well versed in strong-arm dunning tactics? Imagine that trove of Form 1040 information falling into just anybody's hands.

That's why Congress and the I.R.S. concluded in 1976 that such information should be kept private, and why severe punishment is imposed when taxpayers' privacy is violated. Outsiders would have to have access to this privileged information because

taxpayers might demand to know the particulars of the Government's claim on their money.

I.R.S. employees are aware of their duty to treat taxpayers fairly and to comply with the agency's rules of conduct and the 1988 Taxpayer Bill of Rights. If these requirements were imposed on the private sector, enforcing them would be a nightmare.

If bounty hunters were paid commissions, would they hound delinquent taxpayers less aggressively than collection agencies hound people with overdue commercial debts? Even if no commissions were paid, the outsiders would strive to demonstrate the "productivity" that leads to renewed contracts.

Advocates argue that Minnesota, Nevada and South Carolina use private collectors and that their success shows how unfounded the opponents' fears are. This is a dubious argument. The hired hands ferret out delinquents in other states, bringing in dollars, but this is not a Federal matter.

Partly, the interest in privatization stems from today's corrosive dislike of "intrusive" government, fanned by talk shows and certain members of Congress. Partly, it represents the view that whatever the Government can do, the private sector can do better. Some view the I.R.S. as too

Donald C. Alexander, a lawyer, was Commissioner of Internal Revenue from 1978 to 1977.

But my imagination can only take me so far. This is not my story. And so my fantasy comes to an abrupt end, and I am merely angry again.

For some of us, this anger will pass. It's just a tawdry murder case — right? — and, as one friend of mine said on the phone, if the trial has a happy ending for the celebrity protagonist, then it's also the most dramatically satisfying denouement possible for Hollywood's longest-running mini-series.

For others, the anger will not die and may find ugly outlets. On the eve of the verdict, Ben Stein, an L.A. lawyer and economist, shot me a deliberately provocative E-mail

Anger and the verdict.

message saying, "When O. J. gets off, the whites will riot the way we whites do: leave the cities, go to Idaho or Oregon or Arizona, vote for Gingrich... and punish the blacks by closing their day-care programs and cutting off their Medicaid."

I hope Mr. Stein is wrong. I also hope that the country will not get lost in an ancillary debate about the value of TV cameras in court — as if TV was the message rather than the messenger. I hope that O. J. Simpson will not earn \$20 million in a pay-per-view exploitation of his butchered wife. Most of all, I hope that some of the anger on all sides, mine included, will linger a bit, red-hot yet controlled, as a prod to find our way out of this country's racial morass. The alternative is solitary confinement for life, for blacks and whites alike, in the big nowhere. □

A.M.A. Has Reservations About G.O.P. Medicare Plan

Continued From Page A1

number is multiplied by a fixed amount of money to determine how much the doctor is paid for the service. For example, an office visit might have a relative value of 1, whereas a coronary bypass operation might have a value of 80, because of the work required. If the standard dollar amount, known as a conversion factor, was \$35, then Medicare would pay \$35 for an office visit and \$2,800 for a coronary bypass.

The conversion factor in the House Republican bill for 1996 would be less than the amounts used this year.

The House Republicans propose just one conversion factor for 1996: \$34.60 for all doctors' services. By contrast, there are now three conversion factors: \$39.45 for surgical services, \$36.38 for primary care like office visits to a family doctor and \$34.62 for other doctors' services. Senate Republicans would set the conversion factor at \$35.42.

James F. Rodgers, director of the Center for Health Policy Research at the American Medical Association, said that the Medicare conversion factor used in paying doctors would decline to \$30 or less in 2002 under both House and Senate proposals. But he said, "Practice costs, including the cost of office staff, equipment and rent, are rising every year."

The comments of the American Medical Association came as Administration officials criticized the Republican proposals on another score, saying they would hinder Federal efforts to combat fraud and kickbacks in the Medicare program.

The Republicans have repeatedly vowed to crack down on fraud and abuse. But June Gibbs Brown, Inspector General of the Department of Health and Human Services, said today that their plan would "cripple the efforts of Federal law-enforcement agencies to control fraud and abuse in Medicare and Medicaid" by, for example, increasing the burden of proof for the Government in civil and criminal cases.

Frustrated by the Republicans' refusal to hold additional hearings on the Republican Medicare plan, House Democrats today staged their own hearing, where Ms. Brown and Donna E. Shalala, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, itemized their objections.

Under current law, Ms. Brown said, doctors can be cited for violations.

It is far from clear that a com-



Associated Press

House Democrats held their own hearing yesterday on the G.O.P. Medicare proposal. Donna E. Shalala, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, spoke

to Democratic lawmakers before testifying that the Republicans' changes would force many elderly people into health maintenance organizations.

ing Federal law if they do not exercise "reasonable diligence" to make sure that their Medicare claims are true and accurate. The Republican bills, she said, would relieve doctors of this duty. Doctors would be held responsible for submitting false claims only if they acted in "deliberate ignorance" or "reckless disregard" of the truth or falsity of the information, she said.

Gerard M. Stern, a Justice Department lawyer, said the Republican proposals would make it significantly more difficult for the Government to prosecute hospitals and other health care companies that pay kickbacks to doctors for the referral of patients.

Ms. Brown said the Republican bills would "overturn court decisions" that make it a crime to pay kickbacks if one purpose of the payment is to induce referrals of patients under Medicare or Medicaid. The Republicans, she said, would set a higher standard, "threatening the Government's ability to prosecute

all but the most blatant kickback arrangements."

Speaker Newt Gingrich said that the Republican proposals "attack waste, fraud and abuse in a serious and responsible way."

But Secretary Shalala said that the Republican plan would sharply curtail spending for the standard Medicare program, so many beneficiaries would have to join health maintenance organizations.



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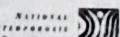
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Prewalk events include a Walk Reebok™ clinic and warm-up, entertainment, milk drinks and a chance to win exciting prizes. Each walker will receive a free T-shirt and hat, while supplies last.

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**With a Veto, President Tries
To Nudge G.O.P. on Spending**

With a Veto, President Tries To Nudge G.O.P. on Spending

By ALISON MITCHELL

WASHINGTON, Oct. 3 — In an act that carries more political symbolism than practical effect, President Clinton today vetoed a bill that pays for Congress's administrative expenses. He said he would not approve the lawmakers' budget while the other spending measures needed to pay for the Federal Government were "incomplete, unresolved and uncertain."

Mr. Clinton's rejection of the \$2.2 billion measure made good on a threat he issued over the summer, when he said, "I don't think Congress should take care of its own business before it takes care of the people's business." It was only his third veto since taking office, and the first of a long series he has threatened in the budget battle.

Michael D. McCurry, the White House spokesman, suggested the veto would put more pressure on the lawmakers to pick up their pace on the remaining spending bills. "Maybe when members of Congress face their staffs in the coming days there might be renewed enthusiasm for resolving the budget issues that must be resolved," he said.

But Republicans were quick to call the President's gesture hollow political theater. They noted that the veto would have no immediate effect since Mr. Clinton had already signed into law a compromise stopgap spending measure to pay for the Government — Congressional staff salaries included — for the next six weeks while he and Congressional Republicans thrash out their differences on the 1996 budget.

The Republicans accused Mr. Clinton of being a big spender, since the bill he vetoed had cut spending on Congressional operations by \$200 million, or 8.6 percent.

"Instead of sending an important signal to the American people that spending cuts will start right here on Capitol Hill, President Clinton has sent the wrong message," Speaker Newt Gingrich and Senator Bob Dole, the majority leader, said in a joint statement. "This certainly won't make it any easier for Congress to deal with this White House."

The day's posturing was only a minor skirmish compared to the real battles still ahead as more and more of the 13 spending measures needed to keep the Government running reach Mr. Clinton's desk. The Republican Congress seems set on sharply reducing or abolishing spending on a host of programs dear to Democrats and the Clinton Administration appears just as intent on protecting the programs. The President has already threatened to veto half a dozen of the spending measures.

It is far from clear that a compromise can be reached by Nov. 13, when the six-week stopgap financing for the Government expires. And two days later, on Nov. 15, an even more ominous confrontation looms when the Federal Government is expected to reach its current legal borrowing limit. A number of Republicans, including at one point Mr. Gingrich, have threatened to block any increase in the public debt if the President hasn't agreed to their budget priorities by then, even at the risk of a Government default.

So far, although the new fiscal year began Oct. 1, the Congress has sent Mr. Clinton only 2 of the 13 spending bills — the measure he vetoed and an \$11.2 billion measure to pay for military construction projects.

While expressing disappointment that Congress has approved more money than the Administration had

Republicans see a hollow political gesture.

requested, Mr. Clinton today signed the military construction measure into law.

Although some lawmakers had expected Mr. Clinton to veto this measure as well, he used it instead to lobby for the line-item veto, a part of the Republican Contract With America that passed both houses in different forms before stalling.

"Most of the unrequested appropriations are for legitimate defense requirements," the President said, in a statement. But he singled out \$70 million of the projects as unnecessary. "The taxpayers deserve protection from this kind of wasteful spending," he added, "and if I had the line-item veto I would use it to strike this \$70 million."

The White House spokesman's comments about the projects were less diplomatic. "You might describe them as pork," Mr. McCurry said. "And they will oink appropriately."

Despite the day's rhetoric, Mr. Clinton did indicate that he was likely to go along eventually with the Congressional spending bill as well. In his veto message he said it was "in fact a disciplined bill, one that I would sign under different circumstances."

That led Tony Blankley, Mr. Gingrich's spokesman, to tartly note that "Bill Clinton is the first President to veto a bill he agrees with."

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